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On behalf of the Irish delegation:

ART OF GRIOBHTHA (Arthur Griffith).  
MICHAEL O. O. SILEAIN (Michael Collins).  
RIOBARD BARTUN (Robert C. Barton).  
E. S. DUGAN (Eamon J. Duggan).  
SEORSA GHABHAIN UI DHUBHTHAIGH  
(George Gavan Duffy).

Dated the sixth of December, 1921.

#### British to Hold Forts

An annex is attached to the treaty. Clause 1 specifies that admiralty property and rights at the dockyard port of Berehaven are to be retained as at present date and the harbor defenses and facilities for coastal defense by air at Queenstown, Belfast, Lough, and Loughswilly to remain under British care, provision also being made for oil, fuel, and storage.

Clause 2 provides that a convention shall be made between the two governments to give effect to the following conditions: That submarine cables shall not be landed or wireless stations for communication with places outside of Ireland established except by agreement with the British Government; that existing cable rights and wireless concessions shall not be withdrawn except by agreement with the British Government, and that the British Government shall be entitled to land additional submarine cables or establish additional wireless stations for communication with places outside of Ireland; that lighthouses, buoys, beacons, etc., shall be maintained by the Irish Government and not be removed or added to except by agreement with the British Government; that war signal atsits shall be closed down and left in charge of oars and maintenance parties, the Government of the Irish Free State being offered the option of taking them over and working them for commercial purposes, subject to admiralty inspection, and guaranteeing the upkeep of existing telegraphic communication therewith.

Clause 3 provides that a convention shall be made between the two governments for the regulation of civil communication by air.

## TO GO SLOWLY IN THE PHILIPPINES

Philippine patriots are disturbed. While the act of Congress of August 29, 1916, indicates the purpose of the United States Government to withdraw its sovereignty over the Philippine Islands as soon as a stable government can be established therein; while it is also true that the people of the Philippines have organized a government that has been in operation for some five years, yet General Leonard Wood and W. Cameron Forbes, whom President Harding sent to the Philippines to investigate conditions, have made a report which calls for a slowing up, and perhaps a slight retracement of steps, in the extension of powers of self-government to the islands.

Commending many advances made by the people of the islands, General Wood and Mr. Forbes still doubt that they are entirely ready for self-government. It is a foregone conclusion that the views of the two investigators will be the groundwork of the policy of the Harding Administration and possibly of some legislation the Administration will ask of Congress in the present session. General Wood has been named Governor-General of the islands, as is well known.

The Wood-Forbes report, which was handed to Secretary of War Weeks, sets forth the following general conclusions and recommendations:

We find the people happy, peaceful, and in the main prosperous, and keenly appreciative of the benefits of American rule.

We find everywhere among the Christian Filipinos the de-

sire for independence, generally under the protection of the United States. The non-Christians and Americans are for continuance of American control.

We find a general failure to appreciate the fact that independence under the protection of another nation is not true independence.

We find that the government is not reasonably free from those underlying causes which result in the destruction of government.

We find that a reasonable proportion of officials and employees are men of good character and ability and reasonably faithful to the trust imposed upon them, but that the efficiency of the public services has fallen off, and that they are now relatively inefficient, due to lack of inspection and to the too rapid transfer of control to officials who have not had the necessary time for proper training.

We find that many Filipinos have shown marked capacity for government service, and that the young generation is full of promise; that the civil-service laws have in the main been honestly administered, but there is a marked deterioration due to the injection of politics.

We find there is a disquieting lack of confidence in the administration of justice, to an extent which constitutes a menace to the stability of the government.

We find that the people are not organized economically, nor from the standpoint of national defense, to maintain an independent government.

We find that the legislative chambers are conducted with dignity and decorum and are composed of representative men.

We feel that the lack of success in certain departments should not be considered as proof of essential incapacity on the part of Filipinos, but rather as indicating lack of experience and opportunity, and especially lack of inspection.

We find that questions in regard to confirmation of appointments might at any time arise which would make a deadlock between the Governor-General and the Philippine Senate.

We feel that, with all their many excellent qualities, the experience of the past eight years, during which they have had practical autonomy, has not been such as to justify the people of the United States relinquishing supervision of the government of the Philippine Islands, withdrawing their army and navy, and leaving the islands a prey to any powerful nation coveting their rich soil and potential commercial advantages.

In conclusion, we are convinced that it would be a betrayal of the Philippine people, a misfortune to the American people, a distinct step backward in the path of progress, and a discreditable neglect of our national duty, were we to withdraw from the islands and terminate our relationship there without giving the Filipinos the best chance possible to have an orderly and permanently stable government.

#### RECOMMENDATIONS

1. We recommend that the present general status of the Philippine Islands continue until the people have had time to absorb and thoroughly master the powers already in their hands.

2. We recommend that the responsible representative of the United States, the Governor-General, have authority commensurate with the responsibilities of his position. In case of failure to secure the necessary corrective action by the Philippine Legislature, we recommend that Congress declare null and void legislation which has been enacted diminishing, limiting, or dividing the authority granted the Governor-General under Act No. 240 of the Sixty-fourth Congress, known as the Jones Bill.

3. We recommend that, in case of a deadlock between the Governor-General and the Philippine Senate in the confirmation of appointments, the President of the United States be authorized to make and render the final decision.

4. We recommend that under no circumstances should the American Government permit to be established in the Philippine Islands a situation which would leave the United States in a position of responsibility without authority.

(Signed)

LEONARD WOOD,  
*Chairman.*  
W. CAMERON FORBES.

(Signed)